hazards, whatever they may be. Universally, we may say, speaking of the sentiment of the masses on the subject, the memory of the Hartford Convention is edious. Yet, in the light of impartial history-in which, through the influence of honest prejudice, our readers have probably many of them never looked at it-what really was the character of THE HARTFORD CONVENTION?

The idea of the Hartford Convention originated with the State of Massachusetts. The movement favor a dissolution of the Union, or to bring about a Northern Confederacy apart from the Union, or any thing of that sort. There was no talk among its contrivers of marching an army upon Washington, or of raising troops to defend themselves against the Government of the United States. On the contrary, Memorials from the People poured into the Legislature of Massachusetts in the year 1814 in great numbers, suggesting the idea of appointing delegates "to meet delegates from such other States as might think proper to appoint them, for the 4 purpose of devising proper measures to procure the united efforts of the Commercial States to pro-· cure such amendments and explanations of the 4 Constitution as will secure them from further evils."

The suggestion of the memorialists was resisted by the Massachusetts Legislature in the first instance, (in February, 1814,) they not deeming the emergency to be so alarming as to justify a resort ormal a mode of action. The Joint Committee to which the subject was referred reported that, though the committee was convinced of the right of acting in concert with other States, for the purpose of accomplishing the objects of the petitioners, yet they had considered that "there are reasons which render it inexpedient at the present moment to exercise this power;" which report was agreed to in both Houses by majorities of alarmed at the prospect before them, and more and more urgent that something should be done, the Legislature gave way, determining to act upon the subject; and, on the 16th of October, the following resolution was passed by both Houses:

" Resolved. That twelve persons be appointed as delegates from this Commonwealth, to meet and confer with delegates from the other New England States, or any other, upon the subject of their public grievances and concerns; and upon the best means of preserving our resources; and of defence against the enemy; and to devise and suggest for adoption by those respective States such measures as they may deem expedient; and also to take measures, if they shall think it * proper, for procuring a convention of delegates FROM ALL THE * UNITED STATES, in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attach-"ment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair

On the day following the passage of this resolution a Letter was addressed to other New England States by order of the Legislature; and, as it tells the whole story of the object and design of the the whole story of the object and design of the proposed Convention, that our readers of the present day may, for themselves, judge of the whole ground occupied by the originators of it, we insert here an entire copy of that letter:

"Boston, OCTOBER 17, 1814. "SIR: Your Excellency will herewith receive certain resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, which you are respectfully requested to take the earliest occasion to lay before the Legislature of your State, together with this letter, which is intended as an invitation to them to appoint delegates, if they shall deem it expedient, to meet such others as place expressed in these resolutions.

"The general objects of the proposed conference are, first, to deliberate upon the dangers to which the Eastern section of the Union is exposed by the course of the war, and which there is too much reason to believe will thicken round them in its progress, and to devise, if practicable, means of security and defence which may be consistent with the preservation of their resources from total ruin, and adapted to their local situation, mutual relations and habits, and NOT REPUGNANT TO THEIR OBLIGATIONS AS MEMBERS OF THE UNION. When convened for this object, which admits not of delay, it seems also expedient to submit to their consideration the inquiry whether the interests of these States demand that persevering endeavors be used by each of them to procure such Amendments to be effected in the National Constitution as may secure to them equal advantage, and whether, if in their judgment this should be deemed impracticable, under the existing provisions for amending that instrument, an experiment may be made, without disadvantage to the nation, for obtaining s Convention from all the States in the Union, or such of them as approve of the measure, WITH A VIEW TO OBTAIN SUCH AMENDMENT.

"It cannot be necessary to anticipate objections to the measure which may arise from jealousy or fear. This Legislature is content, for its justification, to repose on the purity of its own motives, and upon the known attachment of its constituents TO THE NATIONAL UNION, and to the rights and independence of their country. ,

"We have the honor to be, &c. "JOHN PHILLIPS,

" President of the Senate of the Commonwealth "TIMOTHY BIGELOW, " Speaker of the House of Reps. of said Comm

This Letter having been transmitted to the Legislatures of Connecticut and RHODE ISLAND, among others, a resolution was adopted on the occasion by the Legislature of the former State as follows: STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

In General Assembly, October session, A. D. 1814. Whereas this General Assembly, having long witne with regret and anxiety the defenceless situation of this State, did, at their last session, request his excellency the Governor to communicate with the Executives of our neighboring sister States upon the subject of our common defence by our mutual co-operation : and whereas those States, feeling equally with us the common misfortunes, and the necessity of united exertions, have appointed and invited us to appoint delegates to meet and confer upon our calamitous situation, and to devise and recommend wise and prudent measures for our common

Resolved, That this General Assembly will appoint four delegates from this State, to meet at Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, on the fifteenth day of December next, and confer with such delegates as are or shall be appointed by other States, upon the common dangers to which these States are exposed, upon the best means of co-operating for our mutual defence against the enemy, and upon the measures which it may be in the power of said States, consistently with their obligations, to adopt, to restore and secure to the people thereof their rights and privileges UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

HENRY BOWEN, Sec'ry. True copy : And by the State of Connecticut the following resolution was adopted:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

In General Assembly, October session, 1814. Resolved, That seven persons be appointed delegates from this State, to meet the delegates of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and of any other of the New England States, at Hartford, on the 15th day of December next, and confer with them on the subjects proposed by a resolution of said

mination to carry out its recommendations, at all any other subjects which may come before them, for the purpose of devising and recommending such measures for the safety and welfare of these States as MAY CONSIST WITH OUR OBLIGATIONS AS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

CHARLES DENISON, Clerk. Attest, Concurred in by the Upper House.

Attest, THOMAS DAY, Secretary.

Attest, The Convention, consisting of Delegates appointed by the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Con-Delegates from New Hampshire and Vermont, assembled at HARTFORD on the 15th December, 1814. toward its object was made in the beginning of the and sat about twenty days. Its proceedings conthird year of the war between Great Britain and the sisted of protestations against the measures of the United States. Its object was not to procure or to General Government, and recommendations to the several States to endeavor to procure certain amendments to the Constitution, or, failing to procure such amendments by such co-operation of States, to endeavor to procure the call of a National Convention, in the mode authorized by the Constitution, for the same purpose.

Not to withhold from our readers any thing necessary to enable them to acquire a just and true conception of the action, as well as of the purposes of the Convention, we insert at large, from the journal of its proceedings, the entire series of Resolutions which comprise the result of its session:

Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this Conven-Legislatures of the several States form the percentage of the several states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall con visions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the

said Legislatures to authorize an immediate and earnest ap-plication to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said States may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defence of their servitory against the enemy; and a reasonable portion of the taxes, collected within said States, may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States, and to the future defence of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United

Resolved. That it be and hereby is recommended to the port was agreed to in both Houses by majorities of the aforesaid States to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the Governors or commanders-in-chief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and held in readiness for service; and, upon the request of the Governor of either of the other States, to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the State, or such part thereof as may be required and can be spared consistently with the safety of the State, in assisting the State making such request to repel any invasion thereof

which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved, That the following amendments of the Contitution of the United States be recommended to the States epresented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State Legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a Convention chosen by the people of each State. And it is further recommended that the said States shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amend-

[Here follow seven separate amendments, which comprised bout the same amount of practical wisdom as is to be found amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States, or, generally, in those proposed to the Constitutions

Resolved, That if the application of these States to the Government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these States should be neglect another Convention, to meet at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momen

ous may require.

Resolved, That the Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this Convention, to be holden in Boston, at any time before new delegates shall be chosen, as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently

This is the history of the Hartford Convention s it stands upon the public record; and, though the sittings of the Convention were secret, these proceedings were made public at the time. The circumstance of the secresy of the sittings of this Convention gave rise to suspicions that the Convention had not published any more of its proceedings than suited its present purposes; and the disgust to its proceedings South and West of New England attached rather to what was supposed to be concealed than to what was patent of the purposes of the Convention. It was generally, and ndeed almost universally, believed that its real object was to obstruct, by unconstitutional means, the prosecution of the war; and people even went so far as to say that the Convention had contemplated, if the war had continued, entering into an alliance or treaty with Great Britain by which they were to separate the interests of New England from those of the United States. We confess to having. as Editors of this paper, been instrumental, at that day believing them, in diffusing such imputations. Time, however, the great revealer of all political secrets, has long ago disclosed the error of those mpressions. The entire Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, which had been kept under seal in the custody of its President, was five years afterwards placed by him in the office of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts and publish-

ed; and it bore no trace of any such propositions. On the occasion, moreover, of a trial for libel in Fairfield County (Connecticut) in 1831, was brought to the witness-stand, upon subposna by the defendant, Roger M. Sherman, who was one of the members of that Convention-one of the purest and most single-hearted of men-who gave in open court the following (among other) testimony concerning the Hartford Convention, which perhaps our readers may not have seen, though it was published many years ago:

"QUESTION BY THE PRISONER .- Was it not an object of he Convention to embarrass and paralyze the Government of the United States in the prosecution of the war with Great

"Answen. It was not. Nothing of the kind was done r intended by the Convention, or, so far as I know or believe, by those by whom it was originated. On the contrary, its principal object was a more effectual co-operation in that war as to the defence of the New England States.

"QUESTION BY THE PRISONER. Has not that Convention been generally reputed in the United States to be

"Answer. Much has been said and published to that cffect, but without the least foundation. I believe I knew their proceedings perfectly, and that every measure done or proposed has been published to the world. No one has ever been pointed out, to my knowledge, as inconsistent with their obligations to the United States, nor was any such act ever conemplated by them."

To this may be added the fact, that, without any reference to the proceedings of that Convention, Congress had, before official notice of them reached this city, already passed an act carrying into effect one of the most important specific objects suggested by that Convention-which of course was not conby that Convention—which of course was not considered to be tainted with treason—viz. authorizing sideration the state trade between the States, to take into consideration the act of aggression, and the mode and measure of the President of the United States to " receive into the service of the United States any corps or troops

Nashville Convention, and avowing their deter- Commonweath communicated to this Legislature, and upon which may have been or may be raised, organized, ground in their averments, the essential part of councils we may avert the common calamities impending over the Richmond Enquirer meant (when these resoand officered, under the authority of any of the which (contained in the second resolution) none but States," to be "employed in the State raising the political fanatics (and hardly they) would be found same, or an adjoining State, and not elsewhere, ex- to dispute—faintly outline the purpose, of which same."

though upon matters of deep interest to them and it is to exercise no other authority than to recommend subjects of action for the several States inpatible with due regard and devotion to the Union. any other than constitutional action.

"Hartford Convention" has become a by-word and a term of repreach, let us now inquire, upon such evidence as is before us, whether the mode of composition, and the objects of the proposed NASHVILLE CONVENTION are such as to exempt it from just condemnation by contemporary public

The Hartford Convention was a measure conceded by the State Legislatures to the irresistible prayers of the People of the several States represented in it. The Nashville Convention was not called for by the People, but originated [see the seventh of the Resolutions of the Mississippi State Convention in the Address of the Southern Convention of Members of Congress to the People : who, it may be confidently said, would not otherwise have been likely to think of such a thing.

The first State in which the People moved in the matter was the State of Mississippi. At a meeting of the citizens of "Central Mississippi," held at the seat of government of the State on the 7th of May, the assembling of a State Convention was recommended, to be held on the first Monday in October, and was held accordingly. The same individuals took the lead at both meetings. The Resolutions agreed to at the State Convention covering the whole grounds upon which Mississippi, in the first instance, called upon the other slaveholding States to send Delegates to a Convention to be held at Nashville, it is thought proper of them. They are as follows:

it was formed, and not as an engine of oppression.

2. That the institution of slavery in the Southern States is left, by the constitution, exclusively under the control of the States in which it exists, as a part of their domestic policy, which they, and they only, have the right to regulate, abolish, or perpetuate, as they may severally judge expedient; and that all attempts on the part of Congress or others to interfere with this subject, either directly or indirectly, are in violation of the on, dangerous to the rights and safety of the South,

and ought to be promptly resisted.

3. That Congress has no power to pass any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or to prohibit the slave trade between the several States, or to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the Territories of the United States; and that the passage by Congress of any such law would not only be a dangerous violation of the constitution, but would afford evidence of a fixed and deliberate design on the part of that body to interfere with the institution of slavery in the

4. That we would regard the passage by Congress of th 4. That we would regard the passage by Congress of the "Wilmot proviso" (which would, in effect, deprive the citizens of the slaveholding States of an equal participation in the territories acquired equally by their blood and treasure) as an unjust and insulting discrimination, to which these States cannot without political degradation submit; and to which this Convention, representing the feelings and opinions of the people of Mississippi, solemnly declare they will not submit. 5. That the passage of the Wilmot proviso, or of any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, by the Congress of the United States, would of itself be such a breach of the federal compact as, in that event, will make it the duty, as it is the right, of the slaveholding States to take care of their own safety, and to treat the non-slaveholding States as enemies to the slaveholding States and their domestic in-

6. That the Legislature is hereby requested to pass such laws as may, in their opinion, be best calculated to end the emigration of citizens of the slaveholding States with slav to the new Territories of the United States.

7. That, in view of the frequent and increasing evide the determination of the people of the non-slaveholding States to disregard the guaranties of the constitution, and to agitate the subject of slavery, both in and out of Congress, avowedly for the purpose of effecting its abolition in the States, and also in view of the facts set forth in the late "Address of the Southern Members of Congress," this Convention proclaims the deliberate conviction that the time has arrived when the Southern States should take counsel together for their common safety; and that a Convention of the slaveholding States. should be held at Nashville, Tennessee, on the first Monday in June next, to devise and adopt some mode of resistance to there aggressions; and that this Convention do appoint twelve delegates and twelve alternates—being double the number of our Senators and Representatives in Congress—to attend such Convention, and that the other slaveholding States be invited to appoint delegates agreeably to the same ratio of repres

8. That, in the language of an eminent Northern write and patriot, "The rights of the South in African service exist not only under but over the constitution. They existed before the Government was formed. The constitution was rather sanctioned by them then they by the constitution. Had not that instrument admitted the sovereignty of those rights, it never would have been itself admitted by the South. It howed in deference to rights older in their date, stronger in their claims, and holier in their nature than any other which the constitution can beast. Those rights may not be changed, even by a change of the constitution. They are out of the reach of the nation, as a nation. The confederacy may dissolve and the constitution pass away, but those rights will remain unshaken—will exist while the South exists; and when they fall, the South will perish with them."

9. That, to procure unity and promptness of action in this State, this Convention recommends that a Central or State

State, this Convention recommends that a Central or State Association be formed at the capital, and affiliated county as sociations within the several counties of the State.

10. That we recommend to the Legislature of this State that, at its next session, a law be enacted making it the duty

of the Governor of the State, by proclamation, to call a General Convention of the State, and to issue writs of election based upon the ratio of representation in the State Legislature, upon the passage by Congress of the "Wilmot proviso," or any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or prohi-These Resolutions—certainly upon no sufficient

cept with the consent of the State raising the late discussions in and out of Congress hardly leave a doubt, through the instrumentality of We are not disposed to recommend, for imita- the proposed Convention to unsettle the foundation, under similar circumstances, the organization tions of the Government of the United States. of such Conventions as that of Hartford. Such They set out, indeed, with professing a devoted and necticut, Rhode Island, and three or four county Conventions are more likely to embarrass the cherished attachment to the Union; but they beg General Government than to lead to any result of the question of aggression by the non-slaveholding benefit to the States who are party to them. But, States, in order to suggest the idea that they (the having since that day had opportunities of knowing People of Mississippi) desire to have it only such personally several of the leading members of that as they "desire" it. These Resolutions do not Convention, (by their coming into the National limit the scope of the Convention to the boundaries Councils from their respective States, and by other of the Constitution, nor do they avow the obligaopportunities,) we are satisfied that their motives tion to keep within the Union-which forms were not unpatriotic, being rather to quiet the ex- so distinct a feature of the Hartford Conventionisting excitement in New England at the pressure or the intention to advance the general welfare. of war excluding the people from the ocean, so soon All their views and all their objects relate to secfollowing the Embargo, than to stimulate it; to tional aims and sectional interests; to the interests dissipate the existing discontent, rather than to of the slaveholding States, without appearing to concentrate it; to prevent its breaking out in any care in the least for the interests, rights, or claims form of hostility or resistance to the Government of the remaining States of the Union. This Missisthe Union. No unprejudiced and attentive sippi Convention acts under the influence of excited reader of the above proceedings of the constituent feeling, and, having nothing to propose within the bodies of that Convention can fail to remark that, Constitution and the Laws for the gratification of this quences, to give "an unflinching support TO ANY They are weary of alliance and intercourse with so far from exhibiting any hostility to the Union, feeling, proposes a Southern Convention to devise they are altogether deferential and respectful to- some mode of resistance to aggressions-differences wards it. Their delegates are to meet and confer of opinion between the North and the South being with delegates from other States. This conference, neither aggressions nor grievances—the true and only constitutional means of redress for which, in their sister States, is to be a consultation merely. addition to those which already exist by law, being The Convention is clothed with no political power; by amendments to the laws of the United States, or, as suggested by Mr. Senator Calhoun in his late speech, by an amendment to the Constitution of the terested, and that action is to be all subordinate to United States. For every real grievance alleged. the Constitution, and to be in no respect incom- the Constitution has established the means and the mode of redress. But constitutional redress is not Nothing is said or proposed of a separation from what the Mississippi resolutions propose. We the Union, or of a Northern Confederacy, or of were not a little surprised, by the way, at finding in the "Address" to the People of the Southern If, with such objects, so limited, so subservient States accompanying the preceding resolutions-a to the Constitution, so respectful to the Union, the generally lucid history and exposition of the institution of slavery as it exists in the United Statestwo statements which appear to us to be altogether founded in error, and calculated greatly to mislead the people of the South. These statements are-

First. That " the non-slaveholding States assert that when, by the admission of new States they shall obtain three-fourths of all, they can amend the Constitution and give to Congress a new power to abolish the service even in the States where it may be sanctioned by the local policy."

Secondly: That a refusal by Congress to receive petitions from persons demanding the abolition of slavery has raised an outery that the right of petition has been evaded; and that "that outcry has been yielded to by Congress, thereby asserting a power to abolish slavery.

We do not doubt but the highly respectable gentle-Address believed, that, in making these statements, of no facts to sustain them; certainly none such as safety.

3. Resolved, That in the opinion of this General Assembly could be deemed authority. Upon such a case as a Southern Convention, in which the States, as State proposed Convention, as we do, with utter aversion, and with even more distrust than aversion.

Nor is that distrust at all lessened, but very 1. Resolved, That we continue to entertain a devoted and information, not to be brought prominently forward Nashville Convention. Here it is:

" Beside and beyond a popular Convention of the Southern States, with the view and the hope of arresting the course of aggression, and, if not practicable, then to concentrate the South in will, sissippi suggests, as the possible ultimate resort. the call, by the Legislatures of the assailed States, of still more solemn Conventions-such as should be regularly elected by the people of those States-to deliberate, speak, and act with all the sovereign power of the people. Should, in the result, such Conventions be called and meet, they may lead to a like regularly constituted Convention of all the assailed States, to provide. in the last resort, for their SEPARATE WELFARE. BY THE FORMATION OF A COMPACT AND A UNION that will afford protection to their liberties and

Here is the project of a Southern Confederacy onfessed-nay, openly, and apparently without compunction, avowed, and coolly recommended to the consideration of the Southern States!

Even so late as when our last article on this subject was put to press-in which we inferred, from cumulative circumstantial evidence against the movers of the Nashville Convention, purposes hostile to to a disruption of the Union-we were wholly unaware of this bold and undisguised avowal, as by so high an authority as that of the Mississippi State Convention, of a purpose on the part of the Agitators to dissolve the Union; to summon the States of the South to antagonist organization against their sister States; to array star against star, and stripe against stripe, of our National Ensign.

It is no longer matter of inference. There exists a disaffection to the Union, more deeply-seat- it, that, beside and beyond the Nashville Convened than we had supposed-engendering designs tion, an ultimate resort might be looked forward to; against it which the mass and body of the People a call, by the Legislatures of the Southern States, of the South are as little aware of as we were of "still more solemn Conversions-such as should three days ago; the first germination of which is be elected by the People of those States, to delibethis project of a Nashville Convention.

With the additional light which this Address

The State of South Carolina is supposed a Convention of the People, but, in the more usual VIRGINIA Legislature has at once adopted it; has

late movements in Mississippi in defence of the rights and in-terests of the South, and hail it with joy as the first step towards that "firm, united, and concerted action among the Southern States" which a sense of their common danger im-

represent the State at large in the Convention proposed to be held at Nashville.

4. Resolved, That, still further to carry out the re mendations of the people of Mississippi, we respectfully re-commend to the people of this State to meet together on the first Monday in April next, in the various parishes and dis-tricts of the State, to nominate as many Delegates as they have members of the Legislature, to meet on the first Monday in May succeeding, at some central and convenient point in their respective Congressional districts, then and there to nominate two Delegates to represent such Congressional district in the

State in the proposed Convention.

5. Resolved, That, entertaining a sincere desire to co-operate with our sister States of the South in any movement which they may deem necessary for the common good, and having entire confidence in the wisdom, integrity, and firmand objects. Enough has been shown to prove ness of the Southern people, when assembled in said Convention, we feel and express an undoubting confidence that the people of the State of South Carolina will yield a faithful and unflinching support to any measure which said Conven-

These Resolutions, making no professions of attachment to the Union, and referring to the General hope of establishing a better one in its place. What Government only so far as to speak of it in terms kind of a Government that would be, Who knows? of disrespect, do not express any ulterior purpose The Government established by their Forefathers until in the last sentence, by which the "caucus' plainly declares its readiness, regardless of con- They want something else! What will it be? MEASURE which said Convention may recommend." There is a business air about these resolutions, after for it? A commercial alliance with Great Britain the first expression of lively satisfaction at the ap- as a substitute for the intercourse with the Northern proach of the conflict, which shows that South Ca- States has been already indicated in the leading rolina is really in earnest.

The next State which moved in this matter was, Legislature are as follow:

"Whereas, the recent action of the General Assembly upon the Wilmot proviso and kindred subjects, and in relation to fugitive slaves, has met with no other response from systematic perseverance in the wrongs of which we complained: And whereas it is apparent that the inevitable result of such a course of action on the part of a portion of the State must be to excite bitterness, jealousy, and distrust among the rest, to kindle the angriest passions, to extinguish that spirit of concession and destroy that mutual forbearance and fraternal affection which founded and have sustained our Confederacy, and finally to dissolve the Union itself: And whereas, we are anxious, if possible, to avert the evils which threaten us, as believe that the most effectual means of doing this are to be found in the cordial union of the whole South for the maintenance of the Constitution and the preservation of the Unio if it can be preserved, and for their own preservation, if it

1. Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly Virginia, That upon the questions thus perseveringly and recklessly forced upon the country, Virginia has taken her position, and that position will be maintained. Her loyalty to the Union is no matter of empty profession. It is stamped upon every page of her history. No State has done as much to form the Union; none is prepared to do more to perpetuate it in the spirit in which it was formed, and in which alone it can be preserved. But, loyal as she is and always has bee it were a fatal error to suppose that Virginia will ever consent that that Union, to which she has looked as a source of hapness and honor, shall be converted into an instrument of

gradation and oppression.

2. Resolved, That in the event of the passage of the Wilmot proviso, or of any law abolishing slavery in the District of Celumbia, or in any manner interfering with the rights of slaveholders therein, or abolishing slavery or the slave trade men composing the committee which drew up this Address believed, that, in making these statements, in the adoption of any measures that may be prepared to unite with the Constitution; and its highest accomplishment in the adoption of any measures that may be precessary to pro-Address believed, that, in making these statements, in the adoption of any measures that may be necessary to prothey were stating incontestable truths. But we know vide for their mutual defence, or to secure their common

these facts, if they were respectable facts, would are represented, should consist of delegates selected by the present, we should ourselves almost be ready to pecome Conventionists, instead of looking upon the an appointment, and BE PREFABED TO ACT for those whom 4. Resolved, therefore, That, upon the happening of either

of the contingencies contemplated in the second resolution, the Governor be authorized and requested (instead of convenmuch increased by the revelation, in the same of delegates to a State Convention, to take into consideration Address—though not even hinted at in the Resolutions-of a purpose ulterior to the consultation at gater to a Southern Convention, and to adopt such measure the crisis may demand. The said delegates to be chosen to publish here, at length, the substantive portion Nashville. The passage of the Address to which by each city, county, or election district, according to its rewe refer is too pregnant with highly important presentation in the House of Delegates, and to receive the formation of a Southern Confederacy. This prosame pay and mileage as members of the General Assembly.

5. Resolved, That regarding the Convention proposed to gether as to the best and most effectual means of resisting the aggressions of the North, of enforcing a compliance on their part with their constitutional obligations, and thereby of preserving the Union of these States, now in imminent peril by reason of the course pursued by the non-slaveholding States and their Representatives in Congress, in their ceaseless agiunderstanding, and action, the Convention of Mis- tation (and that, too, in the most unfriendly spirit) of ques tions involving the peace, the institutions, and the very exist-ence of the Southern States; and approving the objects of said convention, as above set forth, the General Assembly doth recommend to the good people of this Commonwealth to send delegates thereto; and that, to this end, they hold primary meetings in each city, county, and election district in the State, and appoint delegates to a convention to be held in each Congressional district, in the month of May next, and that the district conventions so constituted do each select two persons, (one from each of the two pelitical parties of the country,) who shall be delegates to the said Nashville Con-

> 6. Resolved, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to each of the States of this Union, and also to our Senators and Represen-

To abridge in some degree the labor of a too extended comment upon these Resolutions, the bearing of which the light shed by the Mississippi "Address" enables us to understand much more clearly than we otherwise would have done, we have emphasized by italic letters. &c. certain phrases in them, a careful collocation of which will the Government of the United States, and tending already compromitted that State in the combination against the Government of the United States, and of course against the Union of the States. The gist of these resolutions is to be found in the third of them. Casual readers would hardly discover it. We knew, from the comments of the Richmond Enquirer, that these resolutions meant mischief: but we did not know how much of it they meant. We can now see the whole drift of them. The third resolution "carries on the allegory " of the Mississippi Address; repeating after rate, speak, and act, with all the sovereign 'POWER OF THE PEOPLE:" contemplating, in the last the Mississippi Convention affords, let us further resort, as the reader will have seen above, a dissoexplore the real designs of the Nashville Conven- lution of the Union and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. In this culpable design-this consummation of

have been the first to respond to the call of the all that is imaginable of human delusion and fol-Mississippi Convention, (as the Resolutions of that ly-the Legislature of VIRGINIA has borne the Convention were professedly the first response to the standard of open hostility to the Union far in Address of the Southern Delegation in Congress. advance of any other State. Mississippi has only The resolutions of South Carolina, adopted not at suggested the "ultimate resort" as possible. The manner in that State, at a Legislative Caucus, are not waited for the occasion to arise, which Mississippi deemed only " possible," but has immped to 1. Resolved, That we regard with lively satisfaction the the conclusion, and anticipated the necessity, by providing beforehand her share of the machinery their own to lose—any thing to hope for from confor the dissolution of the Union, even to the oil tinued peace and security to any or all of these-("the same pay and mileage as members of the and how constantly on their guard against such eriously demands.

2. Resolved, That the recommendation of the State of Legislature'') which is to make it work according fanaticism, resulting in projects of disorganization, Mississippi of a Southern Convention, to be held at Nashville, to the wish of its projectors. We can now com-Tennessee, on the first Monday in June next, should be cordially embraced by the whole South, that by common prehend, without the aid of an interpreter, what ville Convention.

councils we may avert the common calamities impending over us, through the action of the General Government, driven on by the lust of power and the fell spirit of fanaticism.

3. Resolved, That, for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the people of Mississippi, it is expedient that in Legislative caucus we should nominate four Delegates to in Legislative caucus we should nominate four Delegates to units for prompt and decisive action,") as follows: unite for prompt and decisive action,") as follows: " In this care for the present, and preparation for the future, IT BECOMES VIRGINIA TO ACT AMONG THE FOREMOST. * * * The UNITED STATES South ask it of her, and her position, her character, and interest demand it."

We need not pursue any further our examination of the programmes of Revolution, in the shape of Resolves by State Legislatures in conformity to the Resolutions and Address of the Mississippi the Mississippi plan, upon which they are founded. to be indefinite as to its objects, except the avowed purpose of resistance to the General Government in the first instance, and, ultimately, of breaking up. that Government, in the vain and presumptuous is not good enough for these aspiring States! the Northern States. What will they substitute Democratic journal of the country as a part of the plan of a Southern Confederacy. How many ties we believe, Virginia. The Resolutions of her will be snapt asunder when these revolutionary gentlemen shall succeed in severing the bands of the Union! Of the number and nature of them imagination may conceive something. Suppose, for instance, as one small item, the post-office lines which connect the Southern States (or such of them as shall constitute the new Utopia) with the Northern and Western States to be suddenly cut off-as they would of course at once be by the dissolution of the Union-how strange a feeling would it not be which our Southern friends would ever, would be a privation of small consequence in the complication of disasters inevitably attendant upon the erection of the new Empire of "the United States South."

Should the reader have compared, as he has read, the characteristics of the Hartford Convention with those of the proposed Nashville Convention, he cannot have failed to remark, that what was proposed by the former was in the spirit of devotion to the Union, of reverence for the Constitution. and submission to the Laws; whilst the scheme of the Nashville Convention is in these particulars directly the reverse. Its origin, its progress, its aim, are all contrary to the spirit of the Laws and fore, of obloquy rests, justly or unjustly, in the mind of the South, upon the memory of the Hartford Convention, must attach, in the mind of every man capable of drawing a distinction, with a concentrated dislike, to the plan of the Nashville Convention and the Southern Confederacy of which it is the now avowed forerunner.

It is much to be doubted, besides, in the event of the proposed assembly of the Convention at Nashville, that it will wait for the slow process of election of conventions of separate States to choose delegates, representing the State sovereignties, to a Convention of States to be afterwards held for the ject of a Southern Confederacy has been, as we tended to enable the people of the South to take counsel to- by this time pretty well grown. The Nashville Convention would probably be no sooner organized than some leader would start up and produce from his pocket a constitution, a frame of government, ready made, embracing a perfect organization, to be adopted by acclamation-for it would not bear debate, and still less the reflex of public opinion-and put in operation, possibly, by choosing at once a President or Dictator, (as the case may be,) and investing him provisionally with plenary powers, until the form of election of a Legislature and appointment of Executive and Judicial officers could be gone through. Every one who is familiar with the history and the machinery of political conventions-our venerable neighbor of the Union newspaper, for example—will see not only the possibility, but the probability of such a surprise as this being attempted, and attempted with success.

We shall not conclude what we have to say on this subject with any moral of our own devis ing. Resorting to an authority from which we have before now drawn wise instruction for ourselves and our readers, we commend to them the following, from a distinguished English author. show how deeply the Legislature of Virginia has which appears to us to have a direct bearing upon the subject now before us:

> " Before men listen even to moderate alterations in the Government of their country, they ought to take care that principles are not propagated for that purpose which are too big for their object. Doctrines limited in their present application and wide in their general principles, are never meant to be confined to what they at first pretend. If I were to form a prognostic of the effect of the present machinations on the people from their sense of any grievance they suffer under this constitution, my mind would be at ease. But there is a wide difference between the multitude, when they act against their Government from a sense of grievance, or from zeal for some opinions. When men are thoroughly possessed with that zeal, it is difficult to calculate its force. It is certain that its power is by no means in exact proportion to its reasonableness. It must always have been discoverable by persons of reflection, but it is now obvious to the world that a theory concerning government may become as much a cause of fanaticism as a dogma in religion. There is a boundary to men's passions when they act from feeling; none when they are under the influence of imagination. Remove a grievance, and, when men act from feeling, you go a great way towards quieting a commotion. But the good or bad conduct of a government, the protection men have enjoyed or the oppression they have suffered under it, are of no sort of mement, when a faction, proceeding upon speculative grounds, is thoroughly heated against its form."

How wide awake, therefore, ought to be our fellow citizens of the South, who have any stake in society, any property, any family, any character of